

A List of the Works of John Browne (1642–1702)

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THE list which follows forms a supplement to a paper already published in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* (1). A complete bibliography of Browne's surgical and anatomical writings has not previously been available although some aspects of the various editions of his book on the muscles were referred to in the main portion of this paper. Following on the trenchant criticism of his work by James Young (1646–1721), Browne made alterations and additions to the text of his book on the muscles in editions published after 1685. These modifications, coupled with the variations in the titles of the later editions, tend to make them appear to be new works, but such is not the case. Browne must have been an astute business man, and, realizing the value of added material, attempted to give his prospective buyers value for their money.

Like his book on the muscles, his surgical works were frankly copied from the works of others. He was at his best in describing the ceremony for touching for the King's Evil. Here, obviously, he was giving a personal account based on his attendance at these ceremonies. Young maintains that Browne exaggerated his experience in this field, although he does confirm that Browne attended some healings, for he says, "It's very true that in the absence of His Majesties three Surgeons, some small time from Windsor, he did attend at two or three small healings happening there and this is all the colour he hath so impudently to boast, that he traced the evil in all its nooks, seen thousands approach the King and was by his command blest with attendance."

Even allowing Browne some exaggeration it was possible for him to gain considerable administrative experience in a short time, for over the period 1675–1682 the annual average number of persons who were touched by Charles II was 4,765.

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The following abbreviations are used for listing the libraries where copies are located. Many other libraries will hold copies of these books and,

therefore, the list makes no claim to being complete. Unusual or special copies have been noted when possible.

BM	British Museum
BOD	Bodleian Library
CPP	College of Physicians, Philadelphia
HMG	Hunterian Museum, Glasgow
KFR	Author's Library
MSL	Medical Society of London
MSV	Medical Society of Victoria, Melbourne
NLM	National Library of Medicine
NYAM	New York Academy of Medicine
RCP	Royal College of Physicians
RCS	Royal College of Surgeons
RSM	Royal Society of Medicine
RSOC	Royal Society
SUL	University of Sydney
WHL	Wellcome Historical Medical Library
WLU	Waller Library, University of Uppsala
YHL	Yale Historical Medical Library

MANUSCRIPTS

1. *Μυοτομία* or the anatomically discourse of all the muscles of humane body as they appeare in dissection collected, written & drawne by John Browne sworne chirurgeon to the King 1675.

Manuscript on paper in brown ink, 76 leaves measuring 227 x 179 mm., on fly-leaf is signature of Thos. Key.

Collation: 1a Title; 1b blank; 2a Dedication to Charles II (slightly different from printed version); 2b blank; 3a *Imprimatur* (not dated); 3b–5b Commendatory letters by E. Dickinson (dated March 24th 78/79), Walter Needham (dated April 14th 79), Thomas Allen, Edward Warner, Edmund King; 6a letter from William Sanders (not printed); 6b letter from Hugh Chamberlen in different hand (not printed); 7a–11a “This Table sheweth the names of the muscles as they doe arise in Dissection”; 11b blank; 12a “The names of the Author’s concerned in this muscular discourse”; 12b, 13a blank; 13b–66b Text and drawings; 67a–70b, “This Table sheweth the Reduction of the muscles each to his proper use & part”; 71a–76a “An Alphabetically Table of the names of the muscles, with the Page cited in which each muscle is treated on.”

The drawings are on leaves 14a, 15a, 16a, 17a, 18a, 22a, 23a, 24a, 26a, 28a, 31b, 32a, 34a, 35a, 37a, 38b, 39a, 40b, 41a, 43a, 44b, 45a, 46a, 48a, 50a, 52a, 53a, 54a, 55a, 56a, 57a, 58a, 59a, 60a, 61a, 62a, 63a, 65a, 66a.

The manuscript would seem to be in the hand of an amanuensis with corrections by Browne. The title and the drawings are exactly copied from Julius Casserius’s *Tabulae anatomicae*, the title being copied from that of the 1632 edition published in Frankfurt by Merian. The text is copied from William Molins’ *Μυεκοτομία; or, the anatomical administration of all the muscles of an humane body*. . . London, 1648.

This is a manuscript draft for the printed edition of 1681.

RCS MS 129.b.22.

2. The anatomy of the eye: with its muscles, coats, humours, glands, & excretory vessels. (No date.)

Manuscript on paper in brown and red ink, 25 leaves measuring 284 x 176 mm. There is no separate title page, the above title being placed above the text on the first page.

Collation: 1a–13b Text; 14a Drawings; 14b blank; 15a–23b Text; 24a Drawings; 24b blank; 25a–25b “An Index of the Whole.”

Seven of the leaves have been defaced by an inked roller. Inserted in front of the text is a printed portrait of Browne by White. This is taken from the 1684 Latin edition of his book on the muscles.

This manuscript is written in a hand which appears to be the same as that of Item 1 and, therefore, dates from approximately the same period.

The defacement of some of the pages with an inked roller is interesting and could suggest that this manuscript was once in the hands of a printer. No trace, however, has been discovered of a printed version of this work.

HMG MS T.4.9.

3. A remarkable account of a glandulous liver, taken out of an hydropsical person by Mr. John Browne surgeon of St. Thomas Hospital in Southwark communicated in a letter to one of the secretaries of the Royal Society:

Three pages of manuscript in the handwriting of Browne, dated December 15th, 1685. The drawing of the liver by William Faithorne which accompanied the MS is no longer in the Royal Society archives.

This letter, which describes a case of cirrhosis of the liver, was printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* 15: 1266–1268, 1685, with one figure.

It would appear to be the only surviving piece written by Browne himself.

RSOC Letters B2/37

4. Syllabus musculorum corporis humani eo ordine dispositorum quo a Dr^e Brown administrari & exhiberi solent in Theatro Chir. Lond. anatomico. (No date.)

Manuscript on 12 leaves of paper in ink in a seventeenth century hand written on recto only (except for title which is on verso). The title is in different hand to the text.

Sloane 1761 consists of a large number of *Syllabus* transcripts. They are in various hands, possibly compiled by students or clerks, and some are dated between 1675–1709. There is no definite evidence that the Dr. Brown refers, in fact, to John Browne, but this I think may be possible. Only two of the other transcripts are named, one of lectures by William Croone, the other of lectures by Walter Needham, the rest being anonymous.

The British Museum also has two letters to Sir Hans Sloane from a J. Browne (Sloane 4025 fol. 432; Sloane 4058 fol. 72, 73), but the handwriting is not similar to that of the letter in the Royal Society.

There is no evidence that Browne ever gave the muscular lectures at Barber-Surgeons Hall, but the 1697, 1698, and 1705 editions of his book on the muscles have special reference to these lectures on their title pages. Unfortunately the Court Minute Books of the Company of Barber-Surgeons are missing for the period 1651–89 and there is, therefore, no check on the anatomy lecturers during these years.

BM Sloane 1761 fols. 74b–85a.

SURGICAL WORKS

5. A compleat treatise of preternatural tumours, both general and particular, as they appear in humane body from head to foot. To which also are added many excellent and modern historical observations, concluding most chapters in the whole discourse. . . . London, Printed by S. R. for R. Clavel, at the Peacock at the west end of S. Pauls, 1678.
[9],* 395 p., [2]. 5 plates. 8vo.

Portrait before title. The dedication to William Cropp (Browne's uncle) is dated 30th November 1677. The plates face pages 166, 205, 245, 256, 340.

The portrait in this and the following work is the first line engraving of Browne done by White; it is different from and smaller than the later one inserted in his book on the muscles (1681).

BM, BOD, HMG, NLM, NYAM, RCP, RCS, RSM, WHL, WLU.

6. A compleat discourse of wounds both in general and particular: whereunto are added the severall fractures of the skull, with their variety of figures. As also a treatise of gunshot-wounds in general. . . . London, Printed by E. Flesher, for William Jacob, at the Black Swan in Holborn, 1678.
[5], 349 p., [1]. 8vo.

Portrait before title. The *Imprimatur* is dated 6th March 1677/78.

BM, NLM, NYAM, RCS, WHL, WLU, YHL.

7. Adenochoiradelogia: or, An anatomick-chirurgical treatise of glandules & strumaes, or Kings-Evil-swellings. Together with the Royal gift of healing, or cure thereof by contact or imposition of hands, performed for above 640 years by our Kings of England, continued with their admirable effects, and miraculous events; and concluded with many wonderful examples of cures by their sacred touch. . . . London: Printed by Tho. Newcomb for Sam. Lowndes, over against Exeter-Exchange in the Strand, 1684.
[42], 207 p., [15], 122 p., [20], 196 p., [6]. 8vo.

The three preliminary leaves are, *Imprimatur*, frontispiece (Charles II touching for the Evil by White), and title.

This volume consists of three books, each with its own subtitle and separate pagination but with continuous signatures. They are preceded by a general preface. The books are: (1) *Adenographia*, or, An exact anatomical treatise of the glandules; (2) *Chaeradelogia*: or, An exact discourse of strumaes, or King's-Evil-swellings; (3) *Charisma Basilicon*, or, the Royal gift of healing strumaes, or Kings-Evil-swellings by contact, or imposition of the sacred hands of our Kings of England and of France.

In the last book Browne gives us an excellent account of the ceremony of touching for the Evil and of the administrative difficulties associated with it. It is one of his more

* Numbers in brackets throughout signify leaves.

original writings, for in the other sections in this volume he leans heavily on other authors. *Adenochoiradelogia* is entered in the *Term Catalogues* for Michaelmas Term, November 1683.

BM, BOD, HMG, NLM, NYAM, RACS, RCP, RCS, RSM, WHL, WLU.

8. *Somatopolitia: or, The city of humane body artificially defended from the tyranny of cancers and gangreens . . . with an enquiry whether they have any alliance with contagious diseases. . . .* London, Printed for James Knapton, at the Crown in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1702.
[8], 183 p., [2]. 8vo.

The dedication to John Potter, Mayor of Colchester, is dated Aug. 23, 1702. This is evidence that Browne was alive at this date. It is presumed that he died between this date and the appearance of *The Surgeons Assistant* in 1703.

RCS, WHL.

9. *The surgeons assistant, in which is plainly discovered the true origin of most diseases. Treating particularly of the plague, French pox, leprosie, &c. Of the biting of mad dogs, and other venomous creatures. Also a compleat treatise of cancers and gangreens. . . .* London, Printed for James Knapton, at the Crown in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1703.
[8], 183 p., [2]. 8vo.

This is a reissue, with a new title, of *Somatopolitia*, 1702. The dedication to John Potter is still dated Aug. 23, 1702. Had Browne been alive in 1703 this date would certainly have been altered.

BM, HMG, NLM.

HIS BOOK ON THE MUSCLES

10. *Proposals for printing a treatise of muscular dissection. (In folio.)*
This anatomical discourse, written by John Brown, sworn chirurgion in ordinary to the King's most Excellent Majesty; contains in it the whole fabrick of muscles belonging to humane body: wherein are lively delineated their proper figures curiously engraven in copper plates, about forty in number. . . . The author hereof being unwilling so useful a work should receive any discouragement, hath thought fit, for the common good, to publish these proposals for the satisfaction of every ingenious person willing to be concern'd herein. Such therefore as shall please to pay to the author, or to any of the persons undernam'd, or others deputed by him, the sum of twenty shillings, shall have one book well bound and gilt on the back, viz. ten shillings upon the subscription, and ten shillings more on the delivery of the said book; which book is intended to be publish'd in Easter-Term next, 1681. . . . Aug. 28, 1680. (Then follows a preliminary list of subscribers.)

Broadside printed on the recto of a single leaf measuring 457 x 298 mm.

The only known copy is in the Constance Meade Collection of Ephemeral Printing at the Oxford University Press.

11. A compleat treatise of the muscles, as they appear in humane body, and arise in dissection; with diverse anatomical observations not yet discover'd. Illustrated by near fourty copper-plates. . . . In the Savoy, Printed by Tho. Newcombe for the author, 1681.

[16], 213 p. 37 plates. Fol.

Portrait by White before title gives author's age as thirty-nine and is dated 1681.

The description of the muscles is taken from William Molins' *Μυεκοτομία*, London, 1648, but Browne has added a few words before Molins' text and included a discussion on the action of the muscles and references to the relevant plates. The plates themselves are adapted from Casserius by altering the pose of the figure and the background and by the use of seventeenth century dress. The relation of this issue to the draft manuscript in the possession of the Royal College of Surgeons has already been discussed. One noteworthy feature of the book is the Royal Warrant of copyright printed before the text. This copyright is so phrased that any person is prevented from copying either the plates or the text for a period of 15 years; this in spite of the author's own blatant plagiarism. With subsequent editions the copyright was renewed by James II and William III. Sir Charles Scarborough, Samuel Collins, and Edward Browne were among those who signed the *Imprimatur*.

BOD, CPP, HMG, KFR, NLM, NYAM, RCS, WHL, YHL.

The WHL copy, the finest examined, is possibly a presentation copy, but bears no inscription. RCS also has a very fine copy.

12. A compleat treatise of the muscles, as they appear in humane body, and arise in dissection; with diverse anatomical observations not yet discover'd. . . . London, Printed for Dorman Newman at the King's Arms in the Poultry, 1683.

[16], 213 p. 37 plates. Fol.

Portrait as for 1681 edition.

This edition, which is more rare than the first, is made up of the sheets of the 1681 issue with a new title page. It is probable that either Thomas Newcombe or Browne disposed of the sheets left over from the first printing to Dorman Newman, who issued them with his own title.

KFR, NLM, NYAM, WLU.

13. Myographia nova: or, A graphical description of all the muscles in humane body, as they arise in dissection: distributed into six lectures; at the entrance into every of which, are demonstrated the muscles properly belonging to each lecture now in general use at the Theatre in Chyrurgeons-Hall, London; and illustrated with one and forty copper plates, accurately engraved after the life, with their names on the muscles. . . . Together, with an accurate and concise discourse of the heart, and its use; as also of the circulation of the blood, and the

parts of which the sanguinary mass is made and framed. Written by the late learned Dr. Lower. . . . London, Printed by Tho. Milbourn, for the Author, 1697.

[18], 109 p. 40 plates. Fol.

Portrait is based on the 1681 one, but the face is redrawn; age is given as fifty-four and is dated 1696.

Richard Lower's *Appendix of the Heart*, mentioned in the title, occupies p. 99–105 of the book and ends: "This accurate and concise discourse of the heart, and its use, as also of the circulation of the blood, and the parts of which the sanguinary mass is made, was written by the late learned Dr. Lower, and presented to a person of quality, who was pleased to favour me therewith, in order to have it added to this my graphical discourse of the muscles."

BM, BOD, MSL, MSV, NLM, NYAM, RCS (2), WHL.

One of the RCS copies is a presentation from the author to Dr. Bernard O'Connor with the inscription "Domino Bernardi Connor M.D. Ex dono Authoris 14 St^r 1697." On the blank verso of many of the plates are manuscript notes by O'Connor of his travels in Europe, particularly of his conversations with the physician to the Czar. The mention in the title of the lectures at Surgeons Hall is further evidence, although indirect, that the MS *Syllabus* in the British Museum (Item 4) could refer to John Browne.

14. *Myographia nova: or, A graphical description of all the muscles in the humane body, as they arise in dissection: distributed into six lectures. At the entrance into which, are demonstrated the proper muscles belonging to each lecture, now in general use at the Theatre in Chirurgeons Hall, London. . . . Together with a philosophical and mathematical account of the mechanism of muscular motion, and an accurate and concise discourse of the heart and its use, with the circulation of the blood. . . . London, Printed by Tho. Milbourn for the Author, 1698.*

[5], viii p. [10], x, p. 9–186. 41 plates. Fol.

Portrait as for 1697 edition but age altered to fifty-six and dated 1698.

This edition contains a ten-page letter, dated July 16, 1698, from Dr. Bernard O'Connor to Dr. William Briggs on muscular motion: "A letter to the learned Dr. William Briggs, Fellow of the College of Physicians, and Royal Society, and Physician in Ordinary to His Majesty wherein a general view being first taken of the frame of the humane body, the mechanism of vital, and other muscular motions, is examin'd both in a physical and anatomical manner, by his friend, Dr. Connor, Fellow of the Royal Society and one of the College of Physicians."

This letter is separately paged and is placed before the text. In the RCS copy this letter is printed on the same paper and is the same size as the rest of the book, but in the RSM copy the letter is on thinner paper, is smaller in size, and has the appearance of a separately printed insert. It may be that this denotes an earlier issue. Richard Lower's *Appendix of the Heart* occupies p. 177–183 of this edition.

BM, BOD, HMG, NLM, RCS, RSM, SUL, WHL.

The BM copy is bound in contemporary red morocco gilt, with the arms of George III impressed at a later date. This copy has the portrait and plates coloured by a contem-

porary hand. The RSM copy also has the portrait and plates coloured; a third copy with the plates coloured was noted in a dealer's catalogue.

15. *Myographia nova: or, A graphical description of all the muscles in the humane body, as they arise in dissection: distributed into six lectures. At the entrance into which, are demonstrated the proper muscles belonging to each lecture, now in general use at the Theatre in Chirurgeons-Hall, London. . . . Together with a phoilosophical [sic] and mathematical account of the mechanism of muscular motion, and an accurate and concise discourse of the heart and its use, with the circulation of the blood. . . . The Second Edition, with additions. . . . London, Sold by Thomas Shelmerdine, at the Rose-Tree in Little-Britain, 1705. Price 10s.*

[5], viii, [12], 186 p. 42 plates. Fol.

Portrait as for 1698 edition.

This would appear to be a reissue, with some modifications and one addition, of the 1698 edition. The *Appendix of the Heart* by Richard Lower is on p. 177–183. The fresh addition is a tract by John Bernoullius: *Mathematical disquisitions concerning muscular motion; communicated in the Lypswick Transactions*. It occupies p. 171–176 and has one tipped-in plate. It has its own dedication, on p. 171, by William Cockburn to Orlando Bridgman.

WHL.

16. *Myographia nova sive musculorum omnium (in corpore humano hactenus repertorum) accuratissima descriptio, in sex praelectiones distributa. Nomina singulorum in suo quaeque loco, situque naturali, in aeneis musculorum iconibus exarantur: eorum item origines, insertiones, & usus, graphice describuntur, additis insuper ipsius authoris, & aliorum nuperrimis observationibus & inventis. . . . Londini, Exudebat Joannes Redmayne, celsissimi Principis Jacobi Ducis Eboracensis typographus, 1684.*

[9], 88 p., [2]. 40 plates; 1 folded table. Fol.

Portrait gives age as forty-two and is dated 1684; face is redrawn.

This edition contains Sir Charles Scarborough's *Syllabus Musculorum Corporis Humani* on a folded sheet forming signature d1, d2. This edition was the first in which names were engraved on the muscles in each plate, a feature which was used in all subsequent editions of the book.

BM, BOD, HMG, MSL, NLM, NYAM, RCP, RCS, WHL, WLU, YHL.

17. *Myographia nova sive musculorum omnium (in corpore humano hactenus repertorum) accuratissima descriptio, in sex praelectiones distributa. . . . Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Jacobum Mouckee, MDCLXXXVII.*

[7], 56 p., [2]. 40 plates. Fol.

Engraved title with bust portrait of Browne before printed title.

This edition also contains Sir Charles Scarborough's *Syllabus Musculorum*. The plates

in this edition are crude copies of those in earlier issues. They have been re-engraved with different backgrounds and some of the figures have the pose altered.

BM, MSL, NLM.

18. *Myographia nova sive musculorum omnium (in corpore humano hactenus repertorum) accuratissima descriptio, in sex praelectiones distributa. . . . Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Petrum Vander Aa, MDCXC.*
[5], 56 p., [2]. 40 plates. Fol.

No portrait or engraved title in this edition.

One of the preliminary leaves in this edition is a double fold on which is printed Sir Charles Scarborough's *Syllabus Musculorum*. This issue has the same crude, re-engraved plates as the 1687 edition.

WHL.

19. *Myographia nova sive musculorum omnium (in corpore humano hactenus repertorum) accuratissima descriptio, in sex praelectiones distributa. . . . Amstelædami, Apud Joannem Wolters, MDCLXXXIV.*
[9], 90 p., [2]. 40 plates. Fol.

Engraved title as for Leyden 1687 edition but with different lettering; 38 of plates included in pagination but not numbered.

This again contains Scarborough's *Syllabus Musculorum* as a double fold and the same poor copies of the plates as in the 1687 and 1690 issues. A copy with the plates coloured was sold at Messrs. Hodgsons' in November, 1953.

CPP, NYAM, WHL.

20. *Verteutschte neue Beschreibung derer in dem menschlichen Körper befindlichen Musculen, darinnen eines jeden Namen und natürliches Lager in Kupffer-Stichen vorgestellt. . . . Berlin, Verlegts Johann Michael Rudiger Im Jahr 1704.*
[13], 96 p., 4 p., [2]. 45 plates. Fol.

Engraved title as for editions of 1687 and 1694 with lettering in German. Pages 65 and 66 omitted in the pagination, so text actually consists of 98 pages.

The translator was Christian Maximilian Spener.

NLM.

21. Reissue of Browne's plates.

Plates V-XXV of John Jacob Manget's *Theatrum Anatomicum*. Geneva, Cramer & Perachon, 1716 (2 vols. large folio) and again in the 1717 edition are re-engraved copies of Browne's plates. Some of the figures on some plates are redrawn from Cowper. The plates are signed J. G. Seiller. The text accompanying the plates is by Manget who acknowledges the source of the plates.

REFERENCE

1. RUSSELL, K. F. John Browne, 1642-1702. A seventeenth century surgeon, anatomist and plagiarist. *Bull. Hist. Med.* 33: 393-414, 503-525, Sept.-Oct., Nov.-Dec. 1959.